

855 and he is left alone a whole day. When evening comes, however,
157 his mother cares for him tenderly, removes lice from him while he
sleeps, signals to others not to approach, and makes for him a sort
of cradle in her arms.

● 854 A young mother, c21, plays with her baby giving him little slaps
157 on the back. The baby begins to laugh, and she gets excited by the
game to such an extent that she hits him harder and harder, so that
he cries. Then she stops and consoles him.

736 We saw the little orphan girl a9, whom everyone loves, literally
trampled during a dance. She had fallen in the general excitement
858 of the celebration without anyone paying any attention. On the
other hand, when they are opposed, children readily strike their
865 mother, and the latter does not fight back. Children are never
861 punished, and we have never seen one of them spanked, nor even the
853 gesture made, except as a joke. Sometimes, a child cries (1) because
515

1. The tears of a child are not called by the same name
as those shed ritually by adults in the course of mourning.
In the first case: to weep, nāšere, nādige; in the second:
to weep, doriāgejere (b1).

he has hurt himself, was in a fight, or is hungry,

10. uftsotnaniēna narōdnerajēna indōtenajēna ūnʔeere (b1)
the child cries, he is thirsty, he is hungry, he wishes
to eat,

or because he does not want to be deloused. But this last case is
rare, for delousing seems to charm the patient as much as it amuses
the operator. It is also held to be a mark of interest and affection.
When he wishes to be deloused, the child—or the husband—places
his head on the woman's knees, presenting the two sides of his head
in succession. The operator proceeds by parting hair or looking
through the strands. The louse that is caught is immediately crushed.
The child who cries is quickly consoled by [68] a member of his
family or by an older child. In general, they have little to com-
[61] plain about. Very pampered, rarely scolded, never whipped, they
live free, useless and lazy.

854 Also, the sight of the mother and her child is usually full of
gaiety and freshness. The mother holds an object out to the baby
through the straw of the shelter and withdraws it at the moment the
baby thinks he has it:

● 854

11. kalajodné daě jozdnoherě (b1)

Take it from the front! Take it from the back!

Or else, amidst great bursts of laughter, she takes the child and pretends to be going to throw him to the ground:

12. šmdam nōm tebu

nīhiyi (b1)

(The mother) "I am going to throw you!" (the child) "I don't want to!"

855

593

Reciprocally, the children surround their mother with a tenderness that is demanding and sometimes unquieting. At the time of leaving group b1, we jokingly proposed to a little girl (b5) that we take her with us. Her response was very characteristic, and at the same time similar to that which many other children would have made under the same circumstances:

13. hōdnjě odengenhien šuadāien tanāhnādaie. (b1)

No! I don't want to go! I am afraid! Mama would cry!

And another observation also makes evident the affection which is always present on the part of the child: a father (C20) brings wild honey and begins by giving some to his son (C22), and only then to his wife (c21); the child, worried, watches his father's movements to see if his mother will receive her share.

[842]

855

593

During the period which precedes weaning, the child lives in as great intimacy with his father as his mother. Like the latter, the father takes care of him, holds him in his arms, wipes up his excrement when necessary, etc. Later, the child lives closer to his mother. She carries him on trips till he can walk, and later he walks at her side. He remains with her at camp or village while his father goes hunting. However, the proprieties of relationships depend first of all on the sex of the child. A father shows more interest in his son than in his daughter, since he must teach him the masculine techniques and occupations: and the same thing is true concerning relationships of a mother and daughter. But as a whole, the relationships of the father with his children show the same

[843]

tenderness and solicitude that we have previously mentioned. The father plays with his child while carrying him on his shoulder (alakuiriginare, b1). He makes weapons to fit the size of the child's little arms:

14. mifnde taglretnore ikālaagetire (b1)

The father makes arrows for the child.

736

[69] Concerning a young male orphan, nearly an adolescent, it was said to us one day that "he does not go hunting because he has no father to make him a bow." In certain cases, the father must extend his care and, to a certain degree, substitute for the absent

● 854

From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the approach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with marriage,

[553] marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs [582] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife [593] is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikindurige, bl); the term of dialectal for "to marry" being oyensaikiritu, literally: "to make a husband;" it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) durednjēn durednje (bl)
 "I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry,"
 says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farsseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segregation ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing, expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. siŕige aŕiungnerage denano inŕira ŕikira ŕiknira tãŕta
halonoo tatliŕta ŕindage hntimbãta uŕrige imãŕera
imãŕera (bl)

Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

and dots hanging down from the nape of the neck. A similar but shorter headdress may be worn in daily life. 301

Hair is groomed with a composite comb. It is cut with a shell, either all around the head at the level of the ear lobe, or only across the forehead, the back and sides being allowed to fall loose. Body painting consists mainly of urucú smeared uniformly, but some groups roughly trace black dots and stripes with genipa juice on the chest and legs. Face and body hair is generally pulled out, especially by women; men often have a sparse moustache and beard. 302 [386]

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes are unknown. Small waterways are crossed on a fallen tree; large ones by swimming, sometimes with the help of large floating bundles of buriti palm stems. Babies straddle their mother's hip supported by a large sling of bark or woven cotton. 481 501 854 ●

MANUFACTURES

Spinning.—Women spin cotton with a crude drop spindle made of grass stalk. The whorl is a wild fruit, a potsherd, or a conical piece of sun-dried clay. Cotton thread is rolled in a ball and, like everything else in a Nambicuara household, wrapped in leaves. Women and men twist tucum and buriti fibers on their thighs to make string. 283

Weaving.—Weaving is limited to cotton bands and belts which men make on small, rough looms of the "Arouak" type (pl. 37, center, right). 286

Basketry.—Men make long, open-mouthed, cylindrical baskets using bamboo strips and a hexagonal, open weave. Fire fans are plaited of palm leaves. The Northern Nambicuara used palm leaves to weave low square baskets for storing the manioc and maize flour. 285

Pottery.—Pottery is unknown among the Eastern Nambicuara. In other groups, women make coarse pots of varying sizes. They mix the clay with ashes, fire the pot in the open, and wash it while it is still hot in an infusion of resinous bark. 323 [314]

Implements.—Stone ax heads were formerly fixed with wax and strings in the loop of a bent handle. Knives and drills are made of a crude flint chip or piece of iron fastened with wax and thread at the end of a piece of wood or between two pieces of wood, which form the handle. Women hollow small cylindrical mortars in tree trunks by means of fire. Fire is made with a fire drill, crude rubber serving as tinder. The Indians burn almecega (*Tetragastris balsamifera*) resin for light. Knives are thin, sharp-edged pieces of wood. 412 [372] [373]

Weapons.—The Nambicuara bow is about 5 to 7 feet (2 m.) long, the section being flat, semicircular, or concave according to the group. The grip is wrapped with cotton. The arrow is released between the thumb and the first finger, the three other fingers being placed on the 411

- 323 The Waklitsi do not make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots from the Parese in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

- 621 Today, at least, the Waklitsi band is a producing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or his family gathers is shared among the band. This, however, does not mean that the whole band goes out every day or that they keep together while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except when the men go hunting such large game as the jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit is the family. Every morning while Julio's band was camped in Utiaity a family or two could be seen going out, the husband walking in front armed with bow and arrows, the wife following and carrying a burden basket on her back and a baby strapped on her hip, an older child following her. As they move slowly along they collect
- [482] 222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats, wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
- 226 When they come to a pond they wade around with small baskets in their hands and scoop out small fish. On one of these trips I observed them catching fish that were only 2 inches in length. These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten without being cleaned. Small birds no larger than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it down, put it into the burden basket, and take it to camp. On their way home they will usually pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assortment of foods and useful materials.
- [252] 224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes out in the morning and runs onto a group of peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters will form into three files, one heading directly toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game on each side. When near enough the middle file stops and spreads out, the other two files then slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but the middle group of hunters maintains contact
- [177]

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on an angle so that the two points eventually press through the lobe creating a hole. As the child grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not named, being known only as the child of so-and-so until puberty, when it receives a name. The Waklitsis appear to have no avoidances following the birth of a child, although the Kitánruhu are said to practice a modified form of couvade. Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate children are likewise accepted and are cared for by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma appears to be attached to an unmarried mother; however, this attitude may be a recent development. Crippled or malformed babies are not killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

853 Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years old or until another child is born. Women in the band assist one another in nursing and taking care of the infants. If a woman should have two small infants, another woman who has lost her child will nurse one of them. Small children are carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of the mother. This strap which is made from embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in width. Women evidently are accustomed to carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the tiny women were observed carrying not only their child but also a huge burden basket full of firewood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with a rat which we had caught in a box trap the night before, neither of us having the courage to put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

[190]

142
516
● 854
291



Tagnani mother and daughter



Tagnani mother and son



Tagnani Indian



Serra do Norte Indians

[230]

5/6
291



Nambicuara at Três Buritis

[854]



Nambicuara children

854 Children are treated with great affection and refused nothing. They are rarely punished. Many an Indian, already elderly would walk for leagues [256] with a child on his back to come to us and give the little one some of the presents we were distributing.

622 They have no clearly defined chiefs. Some men the muleteers call chiefs are merely individuals of some influence frequently heeded by the others.

578 One day, in Campos Novos, we were visited by the Coccozu
622 and Anunze. Several young men of both groups spent the night there: Nuleke, Krikriceknerá (Manduca), Paixão, Preguiça [Port. "sloth"], Damasceno, and the famous Cavagnac, supposed chief of the Urutau village, a scoundrel who used to ambush the muleteers on the Line and take their packs.

On the following day many Uaintaçu came; they were bold, rough, and quite unpleasant people.

The others, when they saw the Uaintaçu approaching, gave signs of agitation. Finally the Uaintaçu arrived, very much excited by the presence of our guests. An endless discussion ensued among the three groups. They all talked and gesticulated in angry fashion, with gleaming eyes, ready to attack each other. Fearing a conflict which would be disastrous on every count, we intervened by distributing cigarettes, matches, axes, etc., in order to distract them. They calmed down. But some of the Coccozu and Uaintaçu boys continued to argue and were gradually surrounded by the others who listened attentively. Two on one side would speak; two from the other side would reply. The two Indians who talked, Damasceno and Cavagnac, were more intelligent, clever and bold. There was nothing to indicate that they were true chiefs, recognized as such on every occasion. They were temporary chiefs.

622 Among the Tagnani and Tawite, on the other hand, there are clearly defined secular chiefs. One of them stood out because he wore no ornaments whatever [257]. He actually commanded and was obeyed by all. He had three wives.

562 The status of the Nambicuara woman is not so degraded as that of other Brazilian Indian women. She works hard, it is true, She
[622] gathers fruit, grates manioc, handles the mortar and pestle, erects the hunting shelters, spins cotton, carries the family belongings, cares for the children, takes part in cultivating the plot; but usually she is